1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tinderet Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngwet*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porosat*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *koroosek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind: *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomok*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptalonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kemet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapuresik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

I: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *keriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

have lived in the country of the Kitĕto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balañga* and no *Kinyalañgai* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balañga* or *Kinya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kiruokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

I noticed that when Dorobo were having a meeting of any sort, however informal, at which they wanted to speak of anything important, they were careful to exclude Nandi from it; and if a Nandi insisted on intruding, they would talk only of trivial matters till he had gone. One day when I was talking to some Dorobo about their land, they insisted on my sending out of earshot a Nandi who was with me — they even took me out of his sight and spoke in low voices, for the subject was too serious to be heard and perhaps ridiculed by a Nandi. It is thus not difficult to understand how an acquired feature like the *koret* can fall into disuse; and this is what I believe has happened among the Dorobo. Pressure of various kinds was by 1927 forcing the Dorobo to be more wary than ever, and the clan system could give them all the administrative organization they needed. Hence the *koret* council could lapse, and with it the office of *kiruokindet*, though the *koret* names remained, as they had become useful terms of reference.

Nevertheless, the *koret* council is closely associated with the punishment of crime, and it is therefore necessary to understand something of the way in which it did its work in the past.

All the elders and circumcised men of a district formed the council. They met at the foot of a tree where the undergrowth was cleared away to make an open space. Any tree would do, for unlike the Nandi they had no special trees which mark the *korosuek*. The functions of the *koret* council were described briefly by a Dorobo in the following words: *Keruoc walek si kesic ce miyac ak ce yac, si kokas pik tukul. Ingoesio cit ake tukul, keoon si kua emet ake*, "We take counsel that we may find what is good and leave what is bad so that all men may understand. If any man refuses, he is driven out of our country". Questions of theft and homicide were discussed by the council; it considered what steps to take when food was scarce; and disputes of all sorts between people of different clans were heard and settled. The decision of the council was announced by the *kiruokindet*, who after sensing the opinion of the meeting, would stand up and say what ought to be done. It was then left to the people concerned to carry out the suggestion, for such it was, in effect, rather than an order.

The way in which the law is enforced is liable to be something of a puzzle to the casual observer. The mainspring of Dorobo political organization is public opinion, and behind public opinion is the fear of the dead. People know that it is wrong, that is, contrary to custom, to do a certain thing; they know also that if they do it, their friends will do someting unpleasant to them, and, what is really most important of all, they know that *mecome cesowiloi*, "the spirits of the dead disapprove". Hence in order to understand how Dorobo law works, one must know something about their religious beliefs. To the European these reasons no doubt seem feeble; but they are effective in that the Dorobo have been able to survive till to-day as a unit sufficiently law-abiding to hold its own and carry on its existence in face of human and non-human enemies, and to maintain its place as a living organization.

Among people like the Nandi, the council habit has become an almost daily business, has in fact almost come to be the equivalent of a club, though without the conviviality of a club; but this is not possible for people who

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Private delicts include trespass, that is, hunting on another's land in the forest; theft, of honey-barrels in particular and of other things in general; murder; adultery; and assault. These are offences for which compensation is payable, or for which a man may kill the offender, e. g. for theft, though if he does so he must pay compensation for murder. Offences which concern fellow clansmen are dealt with by the clan council. Others came within the province of the *koret* council, which was not a daily affair, nor held at stated times, but only when there was a definite reason. When a person had some business which needed the calling of a council, he told the *kiruokindet*, who passed word round the *koret* that people should assemble on a certain day. If, for example, a man had been robbed of a honey-barrel, and knew who had stolen it, he would put the matter before the council, partly to decide on the amount of compensation, for the amount might vary according to the thief's circumstances, and partly to have public opinion behind him when he enforced his claim for payment. I believe that on the whole theft among the Dorobo themselves was not very common; and certain kinds of theft are regarded by them as so mean that a man must be very depraved indeed who will commit them. Besides, in a small horde whose members feel that outside their own circle every man's hand is against them, and to whom a stranger is a potential enemy until proved a friend, the need for unity and absence of friction is overwhelming if they are to survive. I certainly heard of no cases of theft during the period of my investigations.

We may now pass on to describe some of the traditional measures taken against offenders.

Incest. Incest means intercourse between a man and a woman of his *tiliet* (that is, one whom he calls by a relationship term), and a clanswoman. We have already described the punishment for this (see above, p. 127 f.), which in the first case is carried out with the approval of the *koret* council, and in the second, under the authority of the clan council.

Killing a Dorobo. When a man killed a Dorobo belonging to another clan, the council of the dead man's clan met to discuss the amount of compensation that was to be paid (*pas*), and then sent word to the council of the murderer's clan. This meant that the offence had been recognized, and that action must be taken. The council of the murderer's *koret* then assembled so that arrangements for payment could be made and become known to everybody. The murderer also had to be purified, in the same way as when the victim was a clansman. The *koret* council then met again to discuss the amount of the compensation. This, it seems, was usually reckoned at nine head of cattle (male or female), though it is doubtful if the full number was ever enforced [1], and if the murderer was a poor man with

[1] The number nine is probably due to imitation of the Nandi procedure, where nine is the amount payable as compensation for homicide.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

682 623 692 few relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as many of the number decided upon as he could, either from his own herd if he had one, or by getting them from the Nandi in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the cattle would be either oxen or worn-out old cows, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been [614] agreed upon by both clan and *koret* councils, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, so he had to lie low till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone as far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

683 754 **Killing a witch.** Though in 1939 I could hear of no Dorobo who were reputed to be witches (*ponik*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities seem to have been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*mepase*).

609 687 **Killing an enemy.** This means killing any person who is not a Dorobo and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the Dorobo. The Dorobo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies [701] were generally shot at from the cover of under-growth. Though not a crime, [721] killing an enemy none the less makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus [708] brought into the same category as homicide of a Dorobo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man [302] who has killed an enemy is painted (*kemase tokot*) with stripes of white earth (*emoriot*) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual; though if he had killed a Nandi he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Nandi were seldom killed, but one who strayed into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a lonely place for the hyaenas to eat, and at any sign of Nandi activity the Dorobo would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Nandi would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

685 **Theft.** Stealing honey is the worst kind of theft, and is almost comparable with intra-tribal cattle-theft among the Nandi. A man who steals honey from someone else's barrels is considered very low indeed, and if found

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

out might be shot by the owner, who, if he killed the thief, would have to pay compensation for homicide. 685

If a man steals a honey-barrel from a man's recognized area in the forest, the case can be brought before the *koret* council, and the usual compensation is the payment of a goat, which the thief has to get from the Nandi if he has none of his own, though if the thief's circumstances were good, he might have to pay more. The Dorobo say that stealing honey-barrels is apt to be dangerous, because if a barrel is full of bees, the thief might be injured by their stings if they got his scent and did not recognize it.

I was told that theft of an animal caught in someone else's trap never occurred, partly because of the deep-seated public hatred of such an act, and partly because of the belief that after eating meat stolen from a trap the thief's belly would swell to a great size and he would die.

A person accused of stealing food may, to attest his innocence, take a blade of grass between his teeth and say: *Ingo a corin, kuama susuonno*, "If I am a thief, may this blade of grass eat me". [695]

A man who is found stealing ordinary property is beaten by the owner if he can catch him, but if in doing so the thief is killed, the owner must pay the compensation for homicide. In cases of serious theft, like stealing a man's bow and arrows, the case could be referred to the *koret* council, and the thief might have to pay adequate compensation. A man accused of theft might protest that he was innocent by throwing his knife at a tree and saying: *Ingo a corin, kuama rotuanno*, "If I am a thief, may this knife eat me". [692] [693] [695]

Trespass. To the Dorobo, trespass means hunting on somebody else's land. Normally this is no more than either following an animal across the boundary into another man's land, or else in the heat of the chase picking up the trail of another animal on someone else's land. If the hunter gives the owner of the land some of the meat, this accidental trespass is not considered as an offence. But if a man were deliberately to set out to hunt or trap on another man's land without permission or promise of meat, then the owner might, if he thought fit, kill him, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide. Trespasss can occur only in the horde's own forest area. In the old days, when people roamed over the plains below, they could hunt where they pleased, and all they had to do was to keep out of the way of the Masae or Nandi herdsmen.

Adultery. A man who lies with another man's wife is said to *cor*, that is, steal her. He thereby commits an offence against her husband, who may kill him if he catches him in the act, and then, of course, must pay compensation; the wife may get a beating. A woman is not divorced for one act of adultery. 684

Assault. If a man injures another and incapacitates him, he must feed him till he recovers; and should the man eventually die as a result of the injury, the offender will have to pay compensation for homicide. 683

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide. 423 [682]

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught. 224 [685] [626]

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings. [237]

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans. 178 [224] [241] [233] [648]

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group 241 [462] [857] [939] 241 423 [351]

[1] The buck killed are:
Kipseket, blue duiker (cehpalophus aequatorialis). [136]
Mindet, red duiker (c. igna-issaci.)
Keremait, bush buck (tragelaphus scriptus.)
Irukutet, reed-buck
Kenyelet, oribi
Kipsomeret, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

M D 682 648 M [564] [326] /262 cont./ never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Asá is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the el konono.

D 683 [682] Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perversion not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

D [847] [839] [674] A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his campmates.

D 685 D 683 D 689

D 681 Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

D 787 For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ol goiatiki[1] among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the en gidon, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1. [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]

/263 cont./

787 them under his head at night; the next morning he throws the sandals again, this time five times, whereupon he states that the guilty one look thus and so and lives in such and such a camp, etc. If the tusks
789 of a slain elephant are stolen (the hunter does not remove them
685 immediately, but waits until they have been loosened by the decaying
754 of the gums), the one who killed the animal makes magic against the thief by shooting at the head of the elephant several times, using as an arrow the fire-twirling stick. Then he breaks the latter and lays it beside the head. According to the assertions of the Wandorobo, this magic is so effective that the thief must irretrievably die after a few days if he does not deliver the tusks to the owner in all haste -- which is supposed to happen almost always.

695 Only in criminal cases are there legal proceedings, which take
[171] place in the same manner as among the Masai. Every male individual is entitled to take part in them. The ones arriving greet the one
[782] presiding, who is already waiting with a few friends in the shade of a tree near his camp, with the customary greeting and handshake, whereupon the latter opens the meeting with a few of the above-mentioned supplication prayers, Uēd nge hawa, Uēd nge mai, Uēd ngeri' aga! and closes it at the end of the deliberation in the same manner.

[171] A swearing of the truth is made with the same gestures and the same words as among the Masai. Besides the latter, the formula, Uēd kiwēta = may God kill me, is also customary.

[171] To extort confessions one uses the torture customary among the Masai, wrapping a bow string around the upper arm. The Wandorobo call it andoga rasug. In their court sessions the Asá are not acquainted with any ordeals (momeg) other than the ones discussed for the Masai. Of these they use the following three: The ordeal of the bow, here gari waschá́á, the ordeal of the dry wood, here kaschingo waguruf, and that of the stool made of earth, which they designate the same as the Masai. The culprit must submit to the ordeal upon the demand of the plaintiff and may not put up a substitute. According to the statements of the Wandorobo, one who is really guilty always confesses before he submits to the ol momai, as it is also called here, besides momeg, because the belief that otherwise he would die the very next day is unshakably established in the minds of the people. For murder,